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ANNUAL DINNER
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB
JEFFERSON DAY

APRIL 13TH, 1909

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AIX
(Jefferson)
National

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB

ANNUAL DINNER

OF

JEFFERSON DAY

APRIL THE THIRTEENTH

ONE THOUSAND, NINE HUNDRED AND NINE

AT THE HOTEL SAVOY

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*Extract from the Constitution
of the
National Democratic Club :*

“ Its object is to foster, disseminate and give effect to Democratic principles.”

MENU

Feuille d'Anchois, Suedoise

Cotuit Oysters

Olives

Radishes

Salted Almonds

Celery

National Democratic

Brook Trout saute, Meuniere

Cucumbers

Rack of Spring Lamb a la Renaissance

New Green Peas

Potatoes Rissolees

Asparagus, Hollandaise

Sorbet, Jefferson

Squab Chicken en Casserole

Salade Bouquetiere

Cocktail

Sherry

Glace de Fantaisie

Sauterne

Claret

Assorted Cakes

Fruit

Cheese

Champagne

White Rock

Coffee

Liqueurs

Cigars

Cigarettes

SPEAKERS AND GUESTS

Honorable JOHN FOX, President of the Club, presiding

Honorable JUDSON HARMON, Governor of Ohio

“The Rights of the States”

Honorable THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Governor of Indiana

“Remove not the Ancient Landmarks”

Honorable GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,

United States Senator, Oregon

“The Democracy of the Pacific Slope”

Honorable RICHARD CROKER

Honorable CHARLES F. MURPHY

Honorable ALTON B. PARKER

Honorable PATRICK F. MCGOWAN

Honorable JAMES FITZGERALD

Honorable MORGAN J. O'BRIEN

Honorable FRANCIS K. PENDLETON

Honorable D. CADY HERRICK

Honorable THOMAS F. GRADY

Honorable NORMAN E. MACK

Honorable J. SERGEANT CRAM

Honorable JOHN A. BENSEL

TOASTS AND ADDRESSES

Toastmaster John Fox: Welcome, thrice welcome, one and all, is our greeting to this magnificent assemblage.

The National Democratic Club is again honored by Democrats of renown who have come from all sections of our land to participate in our celebration of the 166th Anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson (Applause). Not only the apostle of true Democracy, but likewise the architect of the foundation upon which has been erected the enduring structure of American Liberty and Prosperity.

Two thoughts of Jefferson might seem to have been written in the light of recent events, and may well be recalled at this moment. He said: "Democrats consider the people as the safest depository of power in the last resort; they cherish them therefore, and wish to leave in them all the powers to the exercise of which they are competent." And again he said: "It is not by the centralization of powers, but by their distribution that good government is effected."

To Democrats gathered as we are to commemorate the life and services of the Founder of our Party, it is a fact of great pride that he who wrote the principles upon which the Democratic Party is founded, also inspired the constitutional law of our country, under which it has grown in far greater proportion than any other nation, has accomplished more for industry, for commerce, for labor, for invention, for the peace and good will of the whole world. It is gratifying to us to remember that the organic law of our land is based upon Democratic principles. (Applause.)

Since the days when Jefferson wrote, the United States have expanded from a strip of sparsely inhabited territory along the

Atlantic Coast, to a vast continent stretching thousands of miles away to the broad Pacific, peopled by nearly ninety millions, busy with the growth of agriculture, the hum of manufacture and the development of commerce, sending its productions to all quarters of the globe.

The constitutional law of our land has been found adapted to all this increase, to all these changes, to the progressive civilization and the marvellous advantages the American people now enjoy. It is in a large degree due to the everlasting principles of Democracy and the transcendent genius of Thomas Jefferson. (Applause, cries of "Good boy, John.")

We have several letters here from distinguished men of our country who are not able to be here tonight, and the Hon. John W. Keller will be kind enough to read those he believes you would like to take the time to listen to.

MR. KELLER:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Many letters of regret are here; I have one from the Mayor of the City of New York; one from Governor Bucks of South Dakota; one from Mr. Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton University (Applause); one from Governor Swanson of Virginia (Applause); one from William Jennings Bryan (Applause); one from Champ Clark (Applause); one from Senator Culbertson of Texas (Applause); one from Congressman Rainey of Illinois (Applause); one from Governor Johnson of Minnesota (Prolonged applause.)

Of these I shall read but one and that at the request of the President of the Club; that is from Governor Johnson, and the reason why it has been selected is that he has gone to greater length than any of the other correspondents in expressing a sentiment appropriate to the day:

"My dear Sir:" he writes to the President of the Club. "I write to express my regret that because of official engagements in

Minnesota I cannot be present at the National Democratic Club's observance of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson.

Though a century and a generation have elapsed since the man in homespun, whom today we commemorate, penned the immortal document of 1776, the principles of Thomas Jefferson abide as the foundation rock of our Republic.

The storms of war, of panic, of political strife have come and passed, but the gospel of freedom enunciated in the great Declaration stands stronger, not only in the hearts of American freemen, but in our laws and institutions, today than ever before in history. (Applause.) Nay, more, the Declaration of Independence has become more than American in its sphere of influence. It has become the beacon light of the world. It has brought millions of freedom-loving citizens to our shores from all countries and climes.

It has shed its rays of light into the hearts, the laws and constitution of every civilized people. It has given hope and courage to struggling souls among the semi-civilized races of distant continents and in the isles of the sea.

Its principles are those of freemen in every land and in every age. Its truths are the general axioms of true government wherever found. It is alike the inspiring force and the cornerstone of every constitution upon which rest the rights of men. Its guiding hand is before us in every storm of the Republic. Its simple and true gospel is the epitome of every onward and upward movement of our political life.

Laws and administrations, institutions and organizations, conditions and movements, national and local, corporate and private, patriotic and selfish, good and bad, come and go in the tidal changes of modern life; but beneath and through all, pervading all and abiding ever, the spirit of '76 lives and reigns with power in the hearts and lives of nearly ninety million Americans and is today, as never before, the greatest dominant force for good government, for free and enlightened government, for just and true government in the world. (Applause.)

Democrats especially do well to honor the memory of this man, for to him we have ever looked and will ever look for the fundamental truths for which we stand.

My wishes to the militant Democracy of New York City and to the Empire State.

Yours very truly,

JOHN A. JOHNSON.

Toastmaster Fox : Ohio now equals Old Virginia in the proud distinction of being the mother of Presidents; the full mete of highest honor will only be complete when she furnishes a true and loyal disciple of the great Jefferson as the chief magistrate of the Nation. (Applause.)

The nomination for Governor of the distinguished guest tonight from the Buckeye State in the last gubernatorial campaign was a presage of victory and swept Ohio like a whirlwind, notwithstanding the defeat of the national ticket by an unfortunately overwhelming majority. He has contributed largely in the past as a public official in high place and as a private citizen to the commanding strength which the Democratic Party possesses today, and he may be relied upon to sustain and uphold the loftiest purposes and traditions of our party in the future.

It is my privilege to present as the first speaker of the evening the Hon. Judson Harmon, Governor of Ohio, (tremendous applause) who will respond to the toast, "The Rights of the States." (Prolonged applause.)

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR HARMON

Mr. Chairman, and fellow-Democrats of New York: On behalf of the Democracy of Ohio, whose candidate I was, and on behalf of the people of Ohio whose servant I am, I thank you for this magnificent reception. (Applause.)

And on my own behalf I thank you for the privilege of being with you tonight, because I know that my election was due to the belief that I not only believed mentally in the principles of Thomas Jefferson, but that I believed that they were the ruling principles of any man who will be the good servant of the people; and therefore the oftener one who is called to serve the people thinks of Thomas Jefferson, reads of Thomas Jefferson, and looks into the faces of earnest men who believe in Thomas Jefferson, the better for him.

My subject was assigned to me, but I am glad of it because I have always believed that one of the great things about Thomas Jefferson was that he not only conceived the rights of men, but he conceived the means of making those rights effective to every citizen, and those means were, in his view, the proper organization and conduct of the affairs of the State in which they live.

Unlike the other prominent members of the Congress, Jefferson soon after he wrote and had the Declaration of Independence adopted disappeared from Congress; he disappeared to go back to Virginia and carry out his idea of the rights of the States for the Revolution had left thirteen independent sovereignties which had organized government under Royal Charters, and each one of them had before it the work of re-adapting its constitution and its laws to the ideas of the Declaration of Independence.

So he went back to Virginia, and you heard of him no more in Congress.

He served as Governor of Virginia. He sought election to the Legislature and there he led in the fight which made the principles of the Declaration fruitful in the enjoyment of every citizen. He found there many things which came down from the rule of kings which were not democratic, and he led in the fight to overthrow them.

He found there the principle which gave the first-born all the property of his father, a principle which tended to create and maintain classes and create discontent and inequality of rights and he led in the fight which overthrew that; and akin to which was the

doctrine of entail by which property could be put and kept in the hands which did not earn it to the injury not only of others equally interested, but of the community at large ; and he found there the established church by which religious freedom was really attacked ; all were taxed to maintain the faith even though different from their own, and he was the one who, single-handed, led in the fight which overthrew these undemocratic ideas and established in Virginia equality of rights in all respects, before the law. And what made this all the more notable in him was that he himself belonged to the class which enjoyed those rights. He belonged to the class whose interest it was to take the other stand in that conflict, and therefore it was the more signal service to humanity for him to render, for he was not willing that any man or class of men should have superior rights before the law, to other men, even although he and his belonged to that class.

And when he returned to Congress he carried with him the deed by which Virginia conveyed to the Union the vast region known as the Northwestern Territory, the region which the Arms of Virginia under George Rogers Clarke had captured from the British, a region which Virginia had organized under the name of the County of Illinois, and he bore to Congress that gracious deed of Virginia in which he granted that domain to the Union, particularly to end dissensions among the states.

Jefferson had a deeper idea. Jefferson knew that the great safeguard of the liberties of the people is home rule, but that you cannot have home rule except at home, and that if those who were chosen to represent the people in the exercise of public authority do so so far away they lose touch with the people ; that it is necessary for them to have their state government which touches their homes and lives one hundred times where that of the Union touches it once, that those officers ought to serve nearby, chosen from among the people who know them, and easy of approach and know the wishes of the people and are responsive to their will. He knew that the territory fast settling by the soldiers of

the Revolution was too far away to be ruled from Richmond--they were separated from it by mountains and rivers. He wanted to have rule—home rule—and so he was the principal leader in securing that magnificent concession from Virginia.

But, to carry out the same idea he had inserted in that deed a condition which would prevent that great area from becoming a single state, and therefore, too great for home rule to have full play throughout its borders. Therefore, the condition provided that there should be several states and not one state.

And he gave much thought to the mode of division of that great area into a number of states, and as you know it has now become five great commonwealths, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota, where sixteen millions and more of American citizens carry on the principles of Democracy according to their own ideas and by agents of their own which are right at hand.

So that Jefferson carried out his idea that it was not enough to declare the rights of the people, but put them in words however appropriate and however they might ring around the world unless the practical means were provided by which those rights should be secured to the people as matters of daily enjoyment, and that is the way that he believed that it was to be done. And his great idea of the office of government is to interfere as little as possible with the liberties of the people, to prevent them merely from injuring each other and carrying on the tribunal of justice in all frugality, and to do whatever the government has to do in order that liberty and enterprise may not be unduly burdened; and he knew that those ideas were best preserved and made fruitful in the daily life of the people by government at home. And therefore the Union which was devised to take the place of the discredited confederacy was carefully limited in its powers and the great arrangement of governmental action as from day to day, as from age to age, action by the government should be found necessary was left to the states and the people thereof; and we were to be as to foreign nations

a union, a single people, but at home we were to remain independent commonwealths, the people of which were to have the absolute control of their own affairs. (Applause.)

Civil war came and gave a great impetus to the idea that the scope of the Union was to be extended at the expense of the states, and we had barely recovered from that when great evils that had sprung up on account of undemocratic legislation, on account of the attempt to create classes—create classes in a country whose fundamental principle was that there should be none, again led to the attempt to apply the Federal authority to the things that did not come within its scope, and then we had in an unhappy day embarked our great Republic in an imperial undertaking fit only to be conceived and carried on by kings. (Applause.) So that now it is necessary again not only to remind ourselves constantly of the great ideas of Jefferson, but to stand fast by the machinery of home rule, of which he was the great champion and the great architect, by which we shall enjoy the rights which the Declaration of Independence and the great, great principles of democracy insure to every man. (Applause.)

Why, what state in the Union ever witnessed such a performance as is now going on in Washington? We have lobbyists, unfortunately, but they have to sneak around and do their work under cover, and they are rapidly losing their power. But no one ever dared in a state capital to ask for himself or for his employers the passage of laws for the express purposes of benefiting some at the expense of all the rest.

Why, anybody who would propose such a thing in a state legislature would not dare to go home to his people—he would have to leave the state and never go back again. But yet that is what is going on down there in Washington today. We were promised that the wage workers, that the men of modest means, that those people bearing the burdens of taxation laid in every class should have relief, and already it is plain that they are not to have it. Already we see the representa-

tives of the people in Congress openly and professedly legislating not for the good of the great body of the people, but in the interest of certain classes who are there represented. They still propose to tax us all to swell the rights of the few ; they still propose to take the money which we contribute in the form of indirect taxes by increasing prices and with it aggravate the already unequal distribution of wealth and breed discontent and harm throughout the land. (Applause.) Then, we see all the old devices being resorted to ; an apparent lowering of the tax with a change in the valuation of the goods, so that the result God knows, and we may be sure it won't be any less and probably will be more ; and we find phrases being used which nobody understands but the men who drew them and perhaps a few experts.

I know all of you have sat down and read tariff law—I am a lawyer and have practiced more years than I like to tell, and the hardest thing for me to do is to find out the meaning of anything that is said in the tariff law ; that is the hardest thing that I can do (Laughter) ; and they are now there with those artful men, framing clauses whose operation no man can tell.

Then there are the measures which are innocent looking devices, which are on their face devices looking to getting even with foreign nations, whereas beneath them is concealed a crafty design to give a monopoly to some other interest in this country, like that innocent clause in the Dingley Law which pretended to put oil on the free list, and then by putting in the simple looking clause that the same duty should be put on oil imported in this country which the country from which the oil had come placed upon its import, the Standard Oil Trust secured an absolute monopoly and has had it for twelve years.

Now it looks as though they were so alive to the state of public feeling that they may anoint with the oil of sacrifice a few interests that have lost their pull or been met with a stronger counter-pull, like the wood-pulp trust, and make a show of them, but nobody that can reason from cause to effect, and from the past to

the future, can believe for a moment that any relief to the people will be given by this Congress. All we will get out of it is belated confession that the people ought to have relief, but the relief will never come until the Congress meets which believes in the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson and who will go there to put them into practice (applause) and will legislate with an eye single to the common good and not to the good of a few whose contributions to the campaign or the ballot box requires to be repaid and repaid at the expense of all the people.

What state government did you ever hear of that went on recklessly multiplying the expenses of the government at a time when all the people in their homes and in their various enterprises were forced to practice economy ; even raising the salaries of public officers and wiping out the unsavory memory of a billion dollar Congress, like the last one, but which is almost forgotten from common memory by the one which followed it which actually appropriated two billions of dollars and that in such times as these.

No state ever did that ? Why, out in Ohio the people were up in arms because the county recorders felt they were not being paid quite on the same basis as other county officers and got up an organization and put through a bill to raise their salaries after they were elected and before they took their seats. Did the people condemn it ? Why, they said it was not Jeffersonian for a government to be lavish when the people were poor ; that their affairs ought to be conducted, their public affairs, the same as their private affairs ; and when the people were short of funds the government ought to economise, and that when a man was elected it was a bargain that he would serve at the salary fixed and it was not fair to the people for them to slip in and get their representatives to raise it. And I think the most popular act that I have done or maybe can do was to promptly veto that bill, telling those men if they did not want to serve at the salary they agreed to serve at they could all resign. (Applause.)

Now Thomas Jefferson was a man who really believed that a

public officer owed to the people the exercise of the same qualities, the same care, and the same sagacity he exercised and displayed in his own affairs.

You have seen his account books, how careful he was with all his expenses, what a line he kept on all the enterprises in which he was engaged or interested to see whether they were profitable or not, and how he would cut them off if they were not, and how he nourished them if they were. That is the Jeffersonian idea of what a government of the people ought to do.

We do not get a dollar to spend that does not come out of somebody's earnings or somebody's undertaking. No government ever made a dollar for it has got no means of making a dollar ; it is a necessary evil and it is a burden, and therefore the people are entitled to get at least one hundred cents worth of government for every dollar they pay in taxes and they have a right not to have themselves embarked into any enterprises which on the face of them cannot pay.

Did you ever hear of a state government undertaking to build a canal where it hadn't any ships? But that is what is going on today. Why, they have spent twice as much as they estimated and the canal is not half done, and God knows how much it will cost when we get through with it ; and when it is done, what ships are going to sail through it? No American ships! We haven't got any except war vessels! What has become of them? There was a time when we vied with England for the commerce of the seas. What has become of our ships? One of those same kind of taxes levied on all for the benefit of a few swept our commerce away. Do they propose to repeal those navigation laws so that Americans can get ships? Not at all! What do they propose? Why, they say that they are going to pay a subsidy. To whom? Did you ever hear of the subsidy law? Is it a law by which you or I if we wanted to go into the business of maritime shipping can get a part of it? Not at all! It is craftily drawn, every one of them, every one that was ever

framed, so that only a very few may get the benefit of these subsidies ; and the rest of us can do the best we can.

Now, I say that no state government would be tolerated by the people of the state who would undertake such an enterprise and put them to this expense under conditions which they do not propose to change although they have the power of correction and removal of the evil, and this removal would alone make it possible to get an advantage out of this enterprise to the people who should have that advantage.

Now, these are some of the things that we have confronting us.

The hour is late and I have distinguished associates here whom you want to hear from. I have mentioned only a few of the Jeffersonian ideas. I have only pointed out to you a few instances in which they are being flagrantly disregarded. They have forgotten what economy means down in Washington ; they have turned their backs on the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson ; but they will find out that the masses of the Republican party like the masses of the Democratic party understand that all the burdens of the government are shared by them, share and share alike.

We and our Republican neighbors will enjoy or suffer equally from what the government does or fails to do ; and they will find out that, down in his heart, every man who does not get a favor from the government at the expense of the people or don't expect one is a Jeffersonian Democrat (applause.) They will find out that when the people come to think and reflect and see where they are being led, that all believe in the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson, and that is the reason why in so many states where local affairs called for a revolution or renewal of the belief in Thomas Jefferson and in the new application of his doctrine, that gentlemen like the one on my right and the one on my left were chosen by the people, although on other affairs they voted another way. (Applause.)

Instead of believing that we ought to turn from our state to the federal government for relief from various evils as they arise

and have it dominate the administration of our states, I tell you that the public welfare requires just the opposite course. It requires that the state and the people shall impose on the national government and their representatives there an observance of the same economy, of the same careful selection of the course to be pursued in the business for which the people's money is to be spent that prevails generally among our state governments, and not that the state shall sit at the feet of the federal government and learn its extravagant ways and its folly.

The time will come and it will come soon when the people of this country will realize that the only relief they will ever get will be through the party founded more than one hundred years ago by the man whose memory we venerate and in standing firmly by the principles which he taught and to which it owes its one hundred years and more than one hundred years of glorious existence. (Applause—prolonged applause.)

TOASTMASTER FOX:

The State of Indiana has sent to us tonight her Favorite Son, (applause)—a man whose sterling worth, whose eminent qualifications and great popularity enabled him to reverse the Republican majority for the National ticket in his State by 25,000 majority. (Applause.) Such men are the strength and the hope of our party, such men rally the Democratic host, spur them on to high and noble achievement, and carry the Democratic banner to glorious victory.

They repeat the phenomenal triumphs of the inimitable Hendricks, and Voorhees, the tall sycamore of the Wabash, who have helped to blazon the pathway of the Democratic Party.

In this progressive age we are apt to drift away from the

doctrines of our faith. It is opportune to recall the injunction "Remove not the Ancient Landmarks."

I have great pleasure in presenting to you the Hon. Thomas R. Marshall, Governor of Indiana. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR MARSHALL

Toastmaster and Gentlemen, let no one be deceived by the belief that I have come to bear any new message from the West to the East. I am not vain enough to presume that, standing here where the pulse of the nation's life, both political and economic, beats ever loudly and surely, I could speak in such a tongue as to either charm your ears or touch your hearts. (Applause.) I wish merely to exhort for a few brief moments—to fraternize with my brethren of the East; to proclaim the old, old gospel of Democracy, content if here tonight I may set my flickering taper beside the lambent torch of Thomas Jefferson, which must ever light up the pathway, not only of destiny, but of duty, for every true republic. (Applause.)

I do not pretend to have attained to that certainty which enables me to speak *ex cathedra*. I speak, therefore, with charity for all and malice toward none. I belong to the student body as yet, ready to recant when I am shown to be heterodox. I have simply watched the doctors at their work for twenty-five years.

Except the man with the barns who has much substance laid by for many days, and hopes, by the grace of Congress, to lay by more, all others know there is something unhealthy in state and nation. Hence, a wild effort to find a remedy for the ills; hence, every day a new nostrum advertised upon the political billboards of the land.

New occasions may teach new duties and time may make ancient good uncouth, but in the domain of statecraft, not so. It

may be true that the founders of our Republic who sounded every shoal and depth of statecraft, who knew the strength and weakness of every political system, and who clearly foresaw the sources of growth and the causes of decay, were mere tyros beside the modern manipulator of legislation in the interests of private gain, but I have my doubts. (Applause.) The rise and decay of peoples disclose that there is as surely a law of national as of individual life. The law of the land may be to the autocrat a stumbling block, and to the opportunist, foolishness, but to all those who believe in the divinely appointed plan of our government it is both the source of life and the cure for all ills. (Applause.) What then, is the law of this land?

A fairly great Englishman declared that the weakness of a republic consisted in the fact that it must inevitably rest upon an aristocracy of wealth. If this was, or is, or shall be, so in America, then the criticism is just. It is but changing the form of a government, not its effect upon a people, to take from one man and give into the hands of a few, power. In one sense it is the business of the majority to rule. We know no other way to move the wheels of government. (Applause.) In one sense statutory enactments by constituted authority make the law of the land. In another sense, they do not. The true law of this land flowed from the pen of Thomas Jefferson when he declared that all men were created free and equal and that they were endowed with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. (Applause.) These rights appertain to men as man. They can not be usurped by princes, legislated away by Congress nor even ceded by the free consent of the governed. Such a law as this makes a republic weak in its ceded powers, but strong in the inherent rights of the individual citizen. Majorities may torture if they will, will torture if they can, these ceded rights into a deprivation of the individual rights of the man. They have done so heretofore. They will, if permitted, do so again. Such conduct may be called a people's rule. We may still think we are free

and while the bread continues and the circus goes on, we may be lulled into a sense of security. But some day we must inevitably awaken to the fact that the usurpations of majorities, however obtained and however exercised, have all of the evils and none of the kindly graces of old-time kingcraft. (Applause.)

This idea of government marks a distinct line of cleavage. The East and the West are bound together by myriad ties. We are your children. We look to you for leadership, and you have no right to disappoint us. It is your business, as it is ours, to battle for the individual rights of man. Yet there have been manifestations of recent years which convince us of the West that many of you are deeming the functions of government to be economic rather than political. This has engendered slight friction between us and unless a better understanding is reached, an irreconcilable conflict such as once existed between the North and South will arise. That friction results from an economic theory fostered under the guise of a political principle. The economic theory of the individual that, while he can keep away from the criminal laws of the land, he has a right to foster and develop his business is not to be gainsaid. But when the individual seizes the powers of government to accomplish his purpose he loses sight of his patriotism in his zeal for profit. (Applause.) We of the West, believe that such conduct is indefensible from the viewpoint of the law of the land. We insist that business and politics are two things which can not lawfully be joined in a republic. (Applause.) If my humble words, haltingly spoken, tend to induce Democrats to hark back to one or two of the ideals of the republic, enable them to disassociate business from politics, and imbue them with the genuine belief that American citizenship is the most priceless heritage which can be bequeathed from sire to son, then I shall be supremely content. (Applause.)

The acts of commission are very, very few; it is those of omission which weaken the fabric of government. We are sufficiently strong, and brave, and patriotic to resist with arm and

fortune the onslaught of all the nations of the earth. Danger from without is not our problem, but are we strong and brave enough to cease omitting our duty in regard to the principles of government? We have but recently passed through a campaign in which the clarion cry on our side was "Shall the people rule?". As that cry was uttered it was met and still meets with my approval. Yet, may I be permitted to say that while in one way I believe in the rule of people, in another way I do not. Do not misunderstand me. Though Thomas Jefferson was the high priest of Democracy, though he proclaimed equality of all men before the law, though he formulated and furthered the principles of our Government, though he stood for manhood everywhere, always, still, as I read him, he did not believe that it was within the power of a majority to take away from a minority any of the inalienable rights of man. (Applause.) When, therefore, I say that I do not believe that the people should always rule, I mean to speak in this relation.

That which should rule in this republic always is that supreme law once and forever enacted as the theory of our Government, I do not believe that it is within the power of a majority to abolish the right of trial by jury; to suspend the writ of habeas corpus; to hold alien races in servitude; to foment revolutions in foreign lands; to break down the dividing lines between the different departments of our Government; to cast aside constitutional limitations; to declare that which it wishes it may have in this republic of ours. (Applause.) Though every other man in America should declare that the time had come when we should blend our several departments of government, when we should turn the republic into either an aristocracy or a monarchy, when we should forget the inalienable rights of man, and transfer power and authority into the hands of one or of a few, still, I would maintain that though in the minority of one, I was the last American and the surviving Democrat. (Applause.)

From the reign of law we can not escape. We may erect

institutions, formulate constitutions, set up governments, but the reign of law is over all. It follows, therefore, as a necessity, that while this Government of ours, founded upon the inalienable rights of man—he ceding certain governmental functions to certain authorities—is in one way a strong Government in that the people have a right to rule, yet in another way it is a weak Government, in that the people can not always accomplish that which they may desire. Freedom for us is a possession and not a gift, and its holding must be paid for by the sacrifice of personal desires and personal motives. It is not bestowed on any man in this republic by virtue of any written constitution or statutory enactment. It belongs inalienably to the individual citizen. He owns it; it is his and no man nor set of men have power to deprive him of it. In this sense, the majority of our people have no right to deprive a minority of this priceless possession which I generically call freedom. Possessing this right our forefathers gave certain powers to that which we call government. They declared that government might do certain things. They were very careful distinctly to limit the rights of those whom they called to exercise the functions of government over them. In thus withholding power from their rulers, they likewise withheld it from the people themselves, for if a majority possesses all the rights in this republic, then minority has no rights which the majority is bound to respect. And so we have both law and ethics in this ideal, for the principles of Thomas Jefferson as embodied in our system of government is to state-craft what the teachings of the Christ are to religion. (Applause.) I make this statement reverently because, when you have solved his idea of government, you have reached “whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even also unto them.” (Applause.) Briefly put, it seems to me that the theory of Jefferson was the theory of the right of the individual man; that he believed in the democracy of endeavor, where each man had his chance and every man his hope. I see him yet, the superb and dauntless figure of the revolution, moving ever onward, no mountain

range can stop him, no river hold him back, no change in time or tide restrain him.

In many places in the republic government is looked upon as a business. In other places it is looked upon as downright oppression. I do not believe that Jefferson ever dreamed of blending business and statecraft. If the fathers this day, from the realms of the blessed, could strike out one single phrase in the constitution of the United States I believe they would strike out what is commonly known as the "general welfare clause." As liberty has been made the rallying cry for all sorts of tumult, riot and disorder, as religion has been the cloak for all kinds of superstition, ignorance and oppression, so has this general welfare clause in the constitution, been perverted, distorted and made the mother of evils untold. (Applause.)

Neither Jefferson nor any of his compeers ever dreamed of using the functions of government to exploit a private business. So long as his followers fought in the open and insisted that the sole function of government with reference to business was to give every man a fair field and an open fight, that long was the party of Jefferson able to make headway with the people. While it insisted that the constitution took from the people and gave to government the right to levy tariff duties for the support of the government, and did no more than this, that long it retained the respect of all its followers. But an evil day came when, in the councils of the people, we dug up this ancient landmark and threw it among the rubbish. We began to be beguiled by the blandishments of wealth and power. We began to discuss the general welfare clause and the right of the national Government to erect protective barriers around this country for divers interests. We have seen infant industries grow to maturity, the pauper labor of Europe exploited and differences in wages equalized; and we have at last been compelled to admit the truth of Hancock's statement "that the tariff is a local issue." (Applause and laughter.)

Here in New York, where no slow process of reasoning is necessary, but where a promise at once discloses a conclusion, you know that some of the ancient landmarks of the republic have either been removed or covered up by the dross of modern business life. We are revising the tariff now. Thus far the discussion would be heart-breaking if it were not also humorous. Is the proposed revision indicative of a science of government where each man would do for his neighbor as he would have his neighbor do for him, of a majority keeping within constitutional limitations, of an effort to so adjust schedules that revenue will be raised for the support of the legitimate expenses of the Government? No; rather it is indicative of the ravages of a band of hungry advocates for special privileges, caring nothing for the great body of the American people, desirous only that the special interests in which their business lives are wrapped may so adjust the schedule, not to put money into the Treasury of the United States, but to put money into the pockets of their stockholders. (Applause.)

The hour has come to change coats. A pretended follower of Jefferson who mouths about a tariff on hides, so that no hides may be imported to shoe the barefoot boys of the Bowery, while it gives some prosperous farmer a dollar more upon a Texas steer, is a travesty on Democracy. (Applause.) That man may think he is a Democrat, but he isn't. It is no use, in view of the special constitutional right to levy a tariff to raise revenue, to have anybody flaunt in my face the general welfare clause. That man has not reached a view of the high ideal of Democracy who does not realize that, so far as the law is concerned, the rights, privileges and opportunities of life belong as inalienably and unalterably to the meanest pariah who sits by the wayside begging his bread, as to the richest dweller in marble halls. I neither know nor care anything about schedules. I believe only in the inherent rights of every man born to the purple of American citizenship. I do not believe that any man is entitled to anything more than life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and I know he is entitled to nothing

less. (Applause.) He has neither a natural nor constitutional right to go into partnership with government. I can not see how the benefit of the few at the expense of the many promotes the general welfare of the people. What of it, do you say? What difference does it make if by promise or threat, or intimidation the special interests are enabled to intrench themselves behind the tariff, maintain a partnership with Government and pile up fortunes out of the needs of the many? Do not the people rule, and have not the people a right to rule? In no such sense as this was it ever dreamed in a republic that a majority should rule. Life ripens so rapidly here. It moves so swiftly apace. We are so engaged in buying and selling and getting of gain that we think that those who cry for the rights of man and against the iniquities of special privileges are our enemies. This is not so. There is a wise and a foolish wealth as there is a wise and a foolish poverty; that poverty is wise which eats its crust without fear of the law; that poverty is foolish which has been brought about by idleness or dissoluteness; that wealth is wise which can, at the midnight hour, look out upon a moon-flooded chamber and fear no man and hear no angry knocks at the door of conscience; that wealth is foolish, which, at such an hour, starts up with horror and hears the moan of orphan and the widow's cry. (Applause.) I hope that this ancient landmark can be rescued and reset—this landmark which discloses that the function of the government is not to make men wise, or strong, or rich, but is to preserve to them their inalienable rights to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness. I fear the hour will long be deferred if those who want and those who have shall meet each other in angry strife. There is a hope, however, and that is in the conscience of the American citizen. Let us not forget the primal instinct of mankind is self-preservation, and that a man has scarcely preserved his own life until he begins to grow selfish and long for the life of his fellowman. It follows that the warfare of this life is not a warfare against the enemies which we can see. It is not grap-

pling with the things which we can handle, but with the things unseen, the things intangible. It is the warfare, the eternal fight with oneself against his baser motives. I have not lost faith in the manifest destiny of the American republic. Some wiser power than the mere power of man marked its limitations and set its landmarks. Weak as it is, our Government is yet the strongest system of government, looking toward the ushering in of that time "when swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks," which has ever been devised. It is not to be dreamed that the blood, the toil and the agony which laid the foundations of this republic, and treasurers and sacrifices which have thus far kept it, are to go for naught. Though a few of the people of America are dreaming that this is to be a rich man's government, maintained as all democracies of the past have been maintained, by a moneyed aristocracy, millions are in the nightmare of despair. The hand upon the dial of destiny is moving rapidly toward the hour of a new day. Soon that hour will strike. When it strikes it strikes for revolution or it strikes for a return to ancient principles. Which shall it be? The answer depends upon the individual conscience of the individual American citizen. (Applause.)

I upbraid no man. I cavil with no man. I seek a quarrel with no man who thinks that the foundations of our Government were not well laid. He who believes that the rights of men are glittering generalities, who thinks that all men ought not to stand equally before the law and that one should be protected at the expense of the other, is neither an original Democrat nor an original American. For such a one I have no word of anger. Let him voice his views and fight his battle. But to those who have forgotten, to the many who are just careless, to those who have not thought, I make appeal to stop and think. Let us ask ourselves whether there is, either in the inherent nature of mankind or in the ceded powers of government, any right for the few to thrive at the expense of the many; whether we who would, in an hour

of visible danger to the republic, gladly lay upon our country's altar not only our fortunes but our lives, are so imbued with the principles of this republic that we will stop in our mad rush for individual preferment at the expense of the common weal and turn our steps back and get in the path of duty and of destiny where Jefferson intended us to walk.

I am myself an optimist. In spite of failure and retrogression, the march of humanity will go ever onward until in the ranks there shall be no alien soul, but all shall be brethren of the commonwealth. (Applause.) Force once ruled the world. The strong arm of might was the arbiter of the rights of men. Then dawned the hour when the pen became mightier than the sword, when the thinking machine usurped the place of the battering ram. It is not education, but regeneration, that the people need. The processes of evolution may be delayed, but they can not be destroyed. Is not the dawn here even now—the dawn of that glad day when conscience is to rule the world? The citizen of Jefferson was an ideal citizen, but he was clay. If business and intellect are to guide, he will crumble back to the dust whence he came. It is the mission of the Democratic party—and by that I mean all men who believe in equal and exact justice, regardless of mere party label—to breathe into this man of clay the breath of life and make him to be for the years to come, the one potent citizen of the earth. I do not speak in anger; I do not come with words of caviling or serious criticism. I know how easy it is to be troubled by many things. (Applause.)

I know how much men desire to succeed. Two thousand years of Christian civilization have not eradicated from the heart of man the primal sin of selfishness, but it has done much to awaken the conscience of humanity. Many have spoken to this people with harsh and brutal words, feeling as I do and hoping as I hope. Not much has been accomplished. It can not be brought about by might nor power. It is only by the spirit of our institutions that the right is yet to rule. And so, everywhere, I bid

all men take their bankbooks and their business, their stocks, their bonds, their mortgages, and lock them up from sight of eye, and mind and conscience, and I pray them in the common spirit of a common brotherhood, in the most sacred recesses of their hearts, to answer me this question—are we doing right? Does it lie within the landmarks of the republic that government should be subverted to our particular business ends and aims? If, when the war drum throbs and the battle flag is unfurled, there is no loyal American who would not gladly give his blood and treasure for the constitution and the flag, answer me, in the presence of the disembodied spirits of the ragged continental and the tattered boy in blue, answer me, in the light of twenty centuries of Christian civilization, if a little coarser fare and a little lesser income would bring about that glad hour when “the lion and the lamb shall lie down together and a little child shall lead them,” ought we not to make, in the hour of peace, some sacrifices for this great good? When the drunk of business prosperity has passed away, and we sit in the gray dawn of an accomplished evil and face our own consciences, do we not understand that, after all, the only thing which weighs weight in God’s scales or in man’s scales, in religion, in morals, in politics, or in business is that course of conduct which grants to every man the same rights and privileges which we claim for ourselves? And is not such answer an epitome of Democracy?

Let us reset, preserve, perpetuate our ancient landmarks. Let this be the land of men, not laws; of love, not force; of opportunity, not expediency; let those who will seek a strong government, more power for the ruler, conquest, usurpation and a partnership between government and business; let them devise schemes to tickle the fancy and please the eye of the unthinking by the splendor of material achievement. Be it our mission to guard the landmarks of humanity once set; please God, pray God, forever set, in this western world of ours by the sage of Monticello, Thomas Jefferson, whose ethics of politics may be

crystallized in a single sentence, a Government of honest people, by honest people, and for honest people. (Applause.) May he be to us the burning bush of Democracy, which, though it burns ever so brightly, is not consumed and before which every lover of the rights of man slips off his sandals, for the place whereon he stands is holy ground.

(Prolonged applause.)

TOASTMASTER FOX :

Gentlemen: We have a most distinguished citizen here, he came more than 3000 miles from his home to speak to you tonight.

I trust that you will take your seats and preserve order.

Devoted to the principles of the great patriotic party which maintains the equality and rights of the States as well as the individual citizen, the Democrats of Oregon called upon George E. Chamberlain, their intrepid and matchless leader, to lead them in a determined battle for a seat in the Senate of the United States.

They chose wisely indeed as the triumphant result shows. The Republicans captured the presidential electors, the state officials and an unquestioned majority of the Legislature. The unique and unequalled Chamberlain nevertheless won at the polls over the Republican host. (Applause.)

He rested his claim for success on the merits and on his prior services to the State as its Governor. He appealed to the all-powerful moral element in public and political life, which springs from and is upheld by the popular will. No scandal or corruption marked his canvass, nor did he practice any of the questionable methods now being investigated in Wisconsin, to win a Senatorship by a Republican aspirant who made a direct appeal to the electors.

The people of the State of Oregon by their direct vote acclaimed and approved our honored guest as a good and faithful servant, and created him a United States Senator notwithstanding the defeat of his party.

Gentlemen, I have the honor to introduce Senator George E. Chamberlain who will speak to the sentiment: "The Democracy of the Pacific Slope." (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF SENATOR CHAMBERLAIN

Mr. Toastmaster, Gentlemen of the National Democratic Club: I really feel that I have a grievance against two prominent Democrats of this city and members of this Club.

A few days ago these two distinguished gentlemen visited me in my office at the Capitol and extended to me an invitation to be with you tonight and asked me to respond to the sentiment which has just been mentioned, and I undertook to apologize for the fact that the time was too limited to prepare an address; and one of them said to me that by the time the speeches are reached on the program the boys will feel so damned good that it don't make any difference what you say. (Laughter.)

Now they have deceived me, because, notwithstanding the fact that you have been regaled with magnificent wine and a splendid menu you are all in a firstclass state of preservation and I congratulate you (laughter), on the attention you have given to the splendid address which has just been delivered and I have noticed the close attention with which you have followed the discussions of the evening.

I hardly know what I ought to say to you in discussing the text which has been assigned to me.

I am a good deal in the condition of the old darkey in the story that Lincoln used to tell. It seems that some time ago an

old brother down South had selected as his text something about the "Holy Spirit descending like a dove" and he selected a certain little darkey to take a white dove into the loft of the church which he instructed the lad at the critical point in his discourse or in his sermon to let loose. When he reached this point he repeated the text earnestly but the dove did not come, and again he repeated the text still more earnestly and in desperation looked up at the place where the little darkey was stationed with an inquiring glance, and to his inquiring glance the little dark face peered down at him and said: "The cat done eat the Holy Spirit, shall I throw down the cat?" (Laughter.) So I occupy a good deal the place of the old darkey, I hardly know what I shall say to you about the democracy of the Pacific Slope.

In all seriousness gentlemen, I deem it a great privilege to be permitted to be with you tonight, because I assure you that the democracy of this whole country looks for inspiration to the democracy of this magnificent City of New York. They look to you, they are willing at all times when you do right--and you never do otherwise--to follow your leadership. (Laughter.)

Let me say to you, that Thomas Jefferson during the time when he was minister to Paris saw more clearly than any man of his time and more clearly than any statesman of later times the value of that magnificent Northwest Territory as a place for the establishment of the homes of millions of our people, and the gateway to the magnificent commerce of the Orient.

If I mistake not, gentlemen, he undertook while he was yet in Paris as a minister of this government to send a representative across Siberia and the Steppes of Asia into the Northwest Territory and that he left the fulfilment of it to John Ledger, and, as you remember he returned because he was unable to pass through the Russian posts. And afterwards, this thought of Jefferson still remaining uppermost in his mind, after he became President of the United States, you will remember that he commissioned those intrepid explorers, Lewis and Clarke, to go up the Mississippi River,

down the great Columbia River and to plant the Stars and Stripes on the shores of the Pacific, and you will remember how he gave to those intrepid explorers a letter of credit to the whole world. But before he got there--before these men got there, as you will remember, Captain Grey with the good ship Columbia had rounded the long water route and had sailed up the Columbia River.

You will remember that the fundamental difference between Jefferson and Hamilton in the early days of this Republic was that Jefferson had absolute confidence in the integrity and ability of the people of this country while Hamilton on the other hand distrusted the people and believed in the value of aristocracy of wealth, of the aristocracy of education in the administration of the affairs of this government.

Hamilton believed that the British form of government was the best and did not hesitate to say that he believed in the life tenure, while Jefferson on his part believed that the people ought to have a voice in the administration of their affairs, and that those who represented them should be elected by the people themselves.

Throughout the difficulties which ensued during Washington's administration, you will remember that this was the contest between Hamilton and Jefferson although both were members of Washington's cabinet. However, with the election of Jefferson, his theories became prevalent in this country and were adopted for the administration of all the affairs of this country.

Through the administration of Jefferson and Madison and Monroe the theories which he advanced, and stood for and which he believed in were adopted as the theories of this government for they believed that the people had the right to rule and to govern in their own affairs.

Let me call your attention to another thing: in 1824, when Jackson was a candidate for the presidency, and John Quincy Adams and Clay and Crawford were the competing candidates, Johnson was the plurality candidate of the people of this country; and after

the election was over Crawford withdrew and Adams and Clay formed a combination which made Mr. Adams the President of the United States in 1824.

Immediately the cry was raised by Jackson's friends that the choice of the people had been turned down in the Government of the United States, while the friends of Mr. Adams claimed that it was true that the plurality candidate had been defeated, but there was nothing which prevented the electors from selecting the man who had received a minority of the votes.

And then in 1828 you will remember that the battle cry of the Democratic party in the country when Jackson was nominated again was the same battle cry which was adopted in the campaign of last year, "Shall the people of this country rule," and Jackson was elected by an overwhelming majority in 1828.

Through the instrumentality of the convention system, my friends, the people, although nominally having a voice in the administration of affairs of this country, have practically been deprived of all voice in the administration of their affairs. So autocratic had this system become in 1843 that Mr. Calhoun declined to accept the nomination for the Presidency because the convention which offered it to him was corrupt. And, gentlemen, years later, Benton said that if the convention was corrupt in 1843 it was ten times worse during his time, and so it has continued, my friends, up to within the past few years.

The people, through these kind of manipulations, have been deprived of their voice in the administration of the affairs of the government.

This brings me up to the thought that was suggested to me a while ago, that the people of the Pacific Slope have been continually ruled and controlled and dominated by the system and they have finally determined that from now on they shall have a voice, not only in the nomination of their own candidates for all of the positions in their government, but they shall have a voice still in the legislation which affects vitally their interests.

Therefore the Pacific Slope of this country, which Jefferson first conceived of as holding the great opportunities of this country, has adopted this system, and is adopting it, my friends, to put back into the hands of the people that Jeffersonian system, that idea that the people of the country shall use their own power for the administration of their own affairs in the government of the United States.

And now, my friends, let me suggest to you that your affairs ought to be in the hands of the people as well. I believe that our friends the Senators from this State disagree with me on the proposition. It seems to me I have seen one or two speeches in the last two or three weeks where they say that the convention system is all right, but there ought not to be direct primary nominating law. It seems to me that it is time for the millions of the people of this great State of New York to have a voice in their affairs. Then, my friends, put back the powers into the hands of the people, where Jefferson said they ought to be, and that is where the real power lies, and let me assure you that the masses of the people at heart are Democrats and if they ever have a voice to express it you will find that ninety per cent of them will vote the Democratic ticket, because the masses agree with the principles upon which you stand. (Applause.)

I thank you my friends for having listened to me so attentively tonight. I say to you again that I am sincerely glad to be with you, and I sincerely trust that the efforts of this magnificent club will not only be felt here by those assembled, but that they will radiate and be felt and spread throughout all the people of the magnificent western territory which looks to you for leadership. I thank you. (Tremendous applause.)

TOASTMASTER FOX :

I regret to state that Senator Grady who was to be here tonight to respond to a set toast is unavoidably absent and we therefore will not hear his eloquent voice tonight.

It is now nearly half-past eleven and I think the Club after tendering a vote of thanks to these distinguished gentlemen who have come here tonight, that that would about wind up our proceedings.

Hon. Alton B. Parker: Mr. Toastmaster, I move you a vote of thanks of this Club be extended to these distinguished gentlemen who have so kindly entertained us tonight.

The President of the Common Council: I second the motion.

Toastmaster Fox: It has been moved and seconded that this Club tender a vote of thanks to these distinguished gentlemen who have come here tonight to make speeches and have entertained us so nicely. All in favor of that motion will say Aye. (Ayes.)

All those not in favor will say no. (No noes.)

Motion unanimously carried.

We will now stand adjourned until the 13th of next April.

DAIS

D. Cady Herrick
Francis K. Pendleton
Patrick F. McGowan
Senator Thomas F. Grady
Alton B. Parker
Governor Marshall
John Fox
Governor Harmon
Senator Chamberlain
Rt. Rev. Monsignor Mooney, V. G.
Charles F. Murphy
Morgan J. O'Brien
James Fitzgerald
Norman E. Mack
J. Sergeant Cram

TABLE A

John J. Murphy	Joseph F. Moss
William P. Kenneally	Edward B. La Fetra
Charles J. Nunan	Henry Schneider
Patrick J. Cray	Milton Adler
James Mass	Joseph Divver
Leo Kammoner	William Smith
Charles Lippman	E. F. Heffernan
Michael Cruise	Charles F. Murphy, 2d
Morris Cohen	William J. King
John T. Oakley	Robert De Witt
Patrick J. Tracy	Joseph H. Daly
Edward F. Cunningham	Henry Stumpf
P. J. O'Keefe	Thomas McGowan
John W. Boyle	Henry Alsheimer
James A. Foley	John J. Pickett
Richard J. Couch	William Quinn
Joseph P. McCann	James Foley
Joseph D. Duffy	Patrick Craig
Fice Mork	Michael Duffy
Thomas J. Kelly	Peter Padian
Edward J. Hinch	Andrew Roberts
George F. Kelly	Patrick Hennessy
George C. Kiesel	John J. McGlynn
Charles J. Smith	John S. Clark
Nicholas Gentzlinger	Thomas J. Cunningham

TABLE B

John F. Ahearn	William Sulzer
P. Henry Dugro	R. A. Caples
Louis C. Raegner	William C. Liller
Charles L. Guy	James E. Gaffney
Warren W. Foster	Walter Scott
Charles V. Fornes	J. H. Schoonmaker
Thomas P. Fitzsimons	Charles L. Harrison
Daniel F. Cohalan	Waldo Smith
Windfield A. Huppach	John M. Murphy
Thomas F. Smith	Dr. John E. Herrity
Frank W. Smith	John B. Hasslocher
Philip F. Donohue	Edward J. Kennedy
J. J. McCormick	George Ehret, Jr.
Edwin Bailey, Jr.	Charles J. Warner
William Graham	William B. Anderson
Jacob A. Cantor	Jeremiah T. Mahoney
William A. Jenner	Charles Roos
Simon Uhlman	Charles H. Smith
Thomas L. Feitner	N. H. Heyman
Samuel Adams	George G. Schaefer
James J. Mulligan	Louis B. Schram
William S. Jackson	Max Mindheim
William J. Connors	James Cunningham
John F. Fitzgerald	Frank E. Eyanson

TABLE C

Richard Croker	Herman A. Metz
Andrew Freedman	John H. McCooley
Samuel Untermyer	Patrick H. McCarren
Michael J. Degnon	Michael J. Dillon
Michael J. Degnon, guest	Edward C. Sheehy
John B. McDonald	John E. Sheehy
John T. Dooling	Sylvester J. O'Sullivan
Michael T. Daly	Frederick B. Tilghman
David R. Daly	James J. Martin
Peter J. Dooling	Robert E. Deyo
James O'Connell	Charles F. Bauerdorf
John R. Powers	John M. Richle
John Whalen	Edward F. Clark
Rt. Rev. Monsignor Lavelle	Michael J. Mulqueen
Frederick M. Knowles	P. Joseph Scully
John T. Brush	Dr. Samuel G. Gant
Norbert Pendergast	Edward J. Welch
J. Frank Snyder	R. Burnham Moffat
Daniel E. Finn	Thomas E. Rush
George H. Brennan	William R. Barbour
Thomas O'Connell	Payne Whitney
Henry J. Comaskey	Eugene Hale, Jr.
Nicholas Engel	Patrick A. Whitney
Charles F. Berg	John Cloughen
T. P. Kelly	Richard H. Lee

TABLE D

Augustus Van Wyck	M. Warley Platzek
Charles H. Truax	Eugene L. Bushe
Charles W. Dayton	James J. Hagan
John F. McIntyre	E. L. Hackney
James Shevlin	John Halloran
William H. Muldoon	James J. Coogan
Bernard J. York	Stephen Farrelly
S. W. McKeever	Charles J. Wittenberg
Dr. T. R. Maxfield	James A. O'Gorman
J. B. Martin	E. Clifford Potter
Harold H. O'Connor	Herman Ridder
John F. O'Brien	Brent Good
George J. Gillespie	John Hayes
Dr. William H. Guilfooy	John Morgan
Dr. Walter Benschel	Hugh Slevin
Charles Putzel	John P. Butler
John J. Quinlan	William H. Jasper
J. Lewis Lyon	Joseph Haag
Charles D. Olendorf	Edward Cahill
Joseph F. Prendergast	Edward F. Croker
Theodore Connolly	Frankland Briggs
Edward F. O'Dwyer	William H. Edwards
William E. Wyatt	Gilbert E. Roe
Gratz Nathan	William F. McCombs, Jr.
James W. O'Brien	John E. Dorden

TABLE E

Nicholas J. Hayes	Henry Steinert
William A. Larney	Dr. Richard Kalish
Alfred J. Johnson	John F. Carroll
Dr. John B. Cosby	M. I. D. Einstein
D. C. C. Rice	Isaac E. Einstein
George Y. Bauchle	Louis H. Hahlo
Walter C. Allen	John Slattery
Walter A. Burke	Edward R. Carroll
Frederick Haberman	Berthold Sommer
Jacob R. Joseph	John J. Brady
John W. Keller	Joseph F. Mulqueen
John H. O'Brien	Solon Berrick
Francis B. Robert	David Neuburger
John M. Shaughnessy	Thomas F. Donnelly
Frederic J. Swift	John V. McAvoy
Dr. William E. Cuff	Martin J. White
Henry M. Goldfogle	James B. Eagan
Frederick B. Lynch	Thomas F. White
Roger Foster	H. M. V. Connelly
Richard B. Aldcroft, Jr.	Michael J. Leonard
Henry W. Unger	Thomas F. McAvoy
Henry Smith	John E. Holahan

TABLE F

William P. Schoen	John J. Kennedy
John J. Zeller	Edward P. Corey
Grosvenor Nicholas	Andrew C. Feeney
Jay Coogan	J. R. Gordon
Thomas Sanders, Jr.	Joseph R. Kenny
James W. McLaughlin	David Freed
William Dalton	Mr. Hedges

PRESS

N. Y. City News	Associated Press
Herald	World
Sun	Times
Tribune	American
Staats Zeitung	Brooklyn Eagle
Press	Telegraph

TABLE G

Mitchell A. C. Levy	John P. Dunn
John J. Ryan	Pierre G. Carroll
John Mitchell	Gustav Kaufmann
William H. Dewar	Franklin Simon
Charles C. Hughes	Jules P. Storm
W. M. Hoge	Bernard Flurscheim
W. W. Moss	John J. Butler
Charles Goeller	William P. Burr
L. O. Peck	Fred J. Davison
Maurice Quinlan	David Nevins
Samuel Levy	William E. Davies
Francis Burton Harrison	John Fitzgerald
Andrew S. Hamersley	Dr. George Evans
Maurice Deiches	E. J. Farrell
Antonio Zucca	E. J. Farrell
Victor L. Zorn	David P. Canavan
John J. Freschi	Robert L. Luce
Vito Contessa	A. Welles Stump
Bayard C. Fuller	Charles D. Donohue

TABLE H

Joseph H. Trant
 Thomas L. Watt
 Dr. H. B. Shaw
 Charles Welde
 C. H. Flack
 Leo Schlesinger
 Leo C. Dessar
 Charles W. Sinnott
 Samuel H. Levy
 Edmund J. Healy
 George F. Roesch
 Julius Kaufman
 W. H. Page
 Thomas G. Patten
 John Quinn
 Isaac Fromme
 John Fleming
 S. J. Parmenter

John J. Fitzgerald
 James W. Osborne
 William A. Melliken
 J. O. Woodward
 F. C. Helm
 H. A. Alexander
 John H. Quinlan
 George W. Pople
 Henry W. Allen
 M. M. McHall
 Frank L. Grant
 George F. Brown
 Walter C. McGee
 Louis Stewart
 Samuel R. Probasco
 Thomas L. Hughes
 Edward R. Gilman
 Dr. James H. Brennan

TABLE I

John J. Scannell	John Fleming
Peter De Lacy	John Fleming, Jr.
William L. Marks	Thomas Hassitt
Richard H. Mitchell	Dr. E. J. O'Neill
Robert C. Wood	M. S. Chappelle
John M. Tierney	P. A. Geoghegan
John P. Cohalan	H. Allen Seymour
James K. McGuire	Carlos Warfield
John H. Carroll	J. A. Spratt
J. M. Moore	J. Edward Carter
C. J. Shean	J. B. Moran
J. B. Carroll	William T. Woods
F. C. Murphy	George W. Swett
Fred A. Smith	William F. Grell
H. Otto Wittpenn	Joseph T. Fanning
M. J. Drummond	Edwin N. Doll
Walter J. Drummond	L. Wammemacher
Dudley S. Harde	Fred. Weis

